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## BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSIONE TARK

2	In the Matter of	)	้ วะเก๋	AUG 23 A 10: 29
3		)	from the -	
4	Martinez for Senate and Charles W. Puckett,	)		·
5	in his official capacity as treasurer	)	MUR 5502	SENSITIVE
6	Bush-Cheney '04, Inc., and David Herndon,	)		SELISITIVE
7	in his official capacity as treasurer	)	• •	
8		) '		

## **GENERAL COUNSEL'S REPORT #2**

## I. <u>ACTIONS RECOMMENDED:</u>

Take no further action with respect to the respondents and close the file.

## II. <u>BACKGROUND</u>

The complaint alleged that Martinez for Senate ("Martinez Committee"), Mel Martinez's authorized campaign committee for his 2004 Florida Senate race, coordinated advertising featuring President Bush with Bush-Cheney '04, Inc. ("Bush Committee") through a common media vendor, The Stevens and Schriefer Group ("Stevens-Schriefer"), thereby making excessive in-kind contributions to the Bush Committee. In response, Martinez for Senate contended that Stevens-Schriefer was not a common vendor as to these communications because "the [Martinez] campaign erected a wall around" Stevens-Schriefer "and retained a separate media vendor, Red October Productions, to handle any communications mentioning or showing the President." The First General Counsel's Report ("FGCR") raised questions concerning this representation, as, among other things, on its website, Stevens-Schriefer claimed credit for Martinez advertising featuring President Bush, and there appeared to be issues regarding the "separateness" of Stevens-Schriefer and Red October Productions ("Red October"). FGCR at 5-7.

the file in this matter.

# General Counsel's Report #2 MUR '5502 (Martinez for Senate)

The Commission found reason to believe that the Martinez Committee made an excessive

- 2 in-kind contribution to the Bush Committee on a common vendor coordination theory.
- 3 Subsequently, this Office issued Subpoenas and Orders to the Martinez Committee, Stevens-
- 4 Schriefer, Red October, and two other consulting firms used by the Martinez Committee. We
- 5 took the depositions of Stuart Stevens, a principal of Stevens-Schriefer; Clifford Scott Barnhart,
- 6 the Martinez campaign manager; and Doug Dubin, a Red October producer.

The information developed in the investigation indicates that neither Stevens-Schriefer nor Red October used or conveyed to the Martinez campaign information pertaining to the plans, projects, activities or needs of the Bush campaign that was material to the creation, production, or distribution of the Martinez advertisements. See 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d)((4)(ii). While Stevens-Schriefer provided media services to both campaigns, it was not positioned to receive meaningful inside information from the Bush Committee. Not only was the firm not involved in formulating strategy or privy to sensitive data, but its role was mainly limited to creating advertising spots in assigned subject areas that were not targeted to Florida. Further, there is insufficient similarity to the advertising Stevens-Schriefer created for the two-campaigns to raise even an inference of coordination. Likewise, we found no evidence to indicate that Red October

III. THERE IS NO EVIDENCE THAT STEVENS-SCHRIEFER USED OR
CONVEYED MATERIAL INFORMATION FROM THE BUSH CAMPAIGN TO
THE MARTINEZ COMMITTEE

Committee. Accordingly, we recommend that the Commission take no further action and close

used or conveyed to the Martinez Committee any material information from the Bush

Stevens-Schriefer is a Washington, DC-based commercial vendor that provides media services to Republican candidates and campaigns. The firm provided the Martinez campaign

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with "media strategy and production consultation, including developing the content of television

2 and radio advertisements." Stuart Stevens described

- 3 his firm's role as "chief strategist for the [Martinez] campaign," meaning "coming up with a
- 4 theory of how you're going to win the race, everything from what your message should be to
- 5 how to allocate resources."

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- 7 (Stevens was part of Martinez' "core team."). According to Stevens, he was involved on some
- level in the creation, writing, or revising of scripts for all Martinez advertising, except those in
- 9 Spanish targeted to Florida's Hispanic voters, which were handled by another firm.
- 1 Stevens-Schriefer's work for the Martinez Committee on media
- 11 featuring President Bush included seven television commercials, three radio advertisements, and
- a short Martinez biographical film on a compact disk that was mailed to approximately 20,000 to
- 30,000 registered Republican voters in Florida.

- see Attachment 1
- 14 (transcripts of Martinez advertisements featuring President Bush).<sup>2</sup>
- Moreover, from September 2003 through the 2004 general election, Stevens-Schriefer
- was one of twelve media vendors employed by Maverick Media, Inc. ("Maverick") for the 2004

While Stevens-Schriefer was involved in deciding where or when Martinez advertising should run, it was not the campaign's media buyer. In addition, except for creating the content of a video mass-mailed to registered Florida Republicans, Stevens-Schriefer was not involved in the Martinez Committee's other mass mailings, which were handled by a separate consulting firm.

A number of the Martinez advertisements contained audio or videotape of President Bush praising Martinez that was recorded in 2002 by Martinez' brother when Martinez was sworn in as a member of the Bush Cabinet as Secretary of Housing and Urban Development; all other material featuring President Bush came from publicly available sources. Martinez Committee Response to the Factual and Legal Analysis at 4;

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Bush reelection campaign.<sup>3</sup> The firm created three television and two radio spots that were

- 2 broadcast for that effort. See Attachment 2 (transcripts of Stevens-Schriefer's 2004 Bush spots).
- 3 Stevens testified that Stevens-Schriefer received assignments through Maverick to create
- 4 advertisements on particular subjects, such as health care or education, although occasionally it
- 5 created spots on its own initiative. The advertising was not
- 6 targeted to particular markets: "[w]e kind of ran what we were running everywhere."
- 7 The firm was not involved in media buys or "allocation of where spots were running."

Significantly, Stevens testified that Stevens-Schriefer was not, in contrast to the 2000 campaign, involved in the formulation of strategy or the decision-making process for the 2004 Bush campaign.

When asked about his knowledge of overall "campaign themes and concerns or plans, projects, or activities or needs of the Bush-Cheney '04 campaign," Stevens testified, "We used to have this joke inside, like going to the New York Times every night at eleven o'clock to

Maverick is a Texas corporation "retained by Bush-Cheney 2004, Inc. . . . to provide media consulting services" to the Bush Committee.

Maverick acted as the contractor between the Bush Committee and other media vendors with whom Maverick subcontracted to perform media services for the Bush re-election campaign. *Id.* Stevens described Maverick as "an assemblage of established media consultants working under the shell of Maverick Media in some sense."

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see what was happening in our campaign. It was like they had better sources.

- 2 Stevens further complained "I never saw any direct polling data."
- 3 Stevens testified that Stevens-Schriefer wanted to "be involved in targeting decisions,
- 4 where are we spending money" and "be involved in getting more information." "We
- 5 felt very compartmentalized, and we felt we were as well or better qualified to make these
- 6 [strategic] decisions [than those making the decisions]." . However, the only Bush campaign
- 7 strategy in which Stevens claimed his firm was involved was in connection with the creation of
- 8 spots, not even knowing if or where the spot was going to run. Otherwise, "we were
- 9 never making" and "never had the information to make" the "final decision" on strategy issues.

Stevens answered "no" to all questions asking if his involvement in Martinez for Senate, including his advice concerning media strategy and production, was influenced in any way by knowledge of any information of the Bush-Cheney '04 campaign, or if he, or anyone else in his firm had ever used or conveyed such knowledge in creating, producing or distributing of any Martinez Committee advertising.

Likewise, Clifford Scott Barnhart, the Martinez Committee campaign manager, testified that no one from Stevens-Schriefer ever conveyed to him any information on any Bush-Cheney '04 plans, projects, needs or activities. 

He also testified that the reason so much of Martinez' advertising featured President Bush was not because of any inside



- information from Stevens-Schriefer or anyone else about what would be helpful to the Bush
- 2 campaign, but because polling and "common sense" told the Martinez campaign that it could be
- most successful in the Senate race by emphasizing Martinez' connection with President Bush.<sup>4</sup>
- Stevens also testified that Martinez' service as a Bush Cabinet
- 5 member was a "major" emphasis in the campaign.
- 6 (Martinez' primary challenger also advertised that he was "close to President Bush"). Thus, the
- 7 main theme of the Martinez campaign "was very simple. Tie Mel Martinez to President Bush as
- 8 closely possible in a contested primary, Republican GOP primary in Florida, and you will win."

The theme of tying Martinez to Bush carried over to the general

10 election. 5 The Martinez Committee advertisements featuring President Bush appear to

be consistent with the strategy of associating Martinez closely with President Bush in order to

According to Mason-Dixon polls, in July 2004, Bill McCollum, Martinez' primary challenger. was leading Martinez among Republican voters 29% to 24%. The next month, after the Martinez campaign began running advertisements featuring President Bush, Martinez led 33% to 27%. According to an analysis of the Republican primary, "The appearance of President George W. Bush in Martinez television ads is likely a major factor behind this shift in [Martinez'] campaign momentum....The Bush factor may be the driving influence as Republicans are making their choice between the two front-runners." Brian DuBose, Martinez belies pollsters in victory over McCollum, The Washington Times, Sept. 1, 2004, at 1, available at http://www.washingtontimes.com/ national/20040901-115511-7487r.htm. In contrast, President Bush's poll numbers in Florida declined slightly after the Martinez advertisements featuring him began airing (in August, 48% according to a CNN/USA Today/Gallup poll; in October, 46% according to a St. Petersburg Times/Miami Herald poll). The latter's polls also showed President Bush lost ground among Florida Hispanic voters when the Martinez advertisements were running. Brian E. Crowley, Hispanic vote probably propelled Martinez into Senate, Palm Beach Post, Nov. 7, 2004, available at www.palmbeachpost.com/news (exit polls "suggest that Bush may have been of more help to Martinez [than vice-versa]" and "Miami-Dade numbers also suggest Martinez was of little help to the President there.").

In view of the President's neutral stance in the Florida Senate race, Barnhart testified that he "always had trepidations" that someone from the Bush campaign would ask him to stop running the advertisements featuring President Bush.

He acknowledged having "general conversations" at "social occasions" with individuals connected to the Bush reelection effort "[t]o make sure that they were aware of what was going to take place," but did not solicit and never received any response, either affirmatively or negatively, from those individuals.

He also acknowledged forwarding, prior to its public dissemination, one advertisement to individuals who worked in the political office of the White House; the Martinez Committee produced his forwarded email

Barnhart testified that he could not recall receiving a response from any of these individuals, and that none of them had any input into or involvement with the Martinez campaign.

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the 1968 Presidential race.").

attract Bush voters to Martinez, rather than attempts to promote Bush's candidacy. See

2 Attachment 1.

We developed no other evidence that would call either Stevens' or Barnhart's testimony 3 into question. Certainly, there is nothing specific in the advertisements created by Stevens-4 Schriefer for the Bush and Martinez campaigns that would raise an inference that material 5 information concerning the Bush campaign's plans, projects, needs or activities was used or 6 conveyed to the Martinez campaign. The two sets of advertising do not contain any of the same 7 specific language or scenes. In general, there is no strong thematic similarity between the 8 advertising created by Stevens-Schriefer for the two campaigns. While many of Martinez' 9 advertisements closely link Martinez to Bush, and some, like at least one advertisement created 10 by Stevens-Schriefer for the Bush campaign, focus on the general theme of terrorism, see 11 Attachment 2, other 2004 Republican candidates commonly used these themes. See Attachment 12 3. Moreover, the simple fact that Bush would emphasize the War on Terror in his campaign was 13 hardly "insider information." (the War on Terror "was a campaign theme 14 for every Republican and every Democrat. . . . it would be like saying Vietnam was an issue in 15

IV. THERE IS NO EVIDENCE THAT RED OCTOBER USED OR CONVEYED MATERIAL INFORMATION FROM THE BUSH CAMPAIGN TO THE MARTINEZ COMMITTEE

Red October is a small media services vendor headquartered in Washington, D.C. While it is a separate corporate entity from Stevens-Schriefer, during 2004, Red October's work consisted entirely of providing services to Stevens-Schriefer clients, including the Bush and Martinez Committees.

Red October

and Stevens-Schriefer also were located in the same suite of offices and shared a facsimile line

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## General Counsel's Report #2 MUR'5502 (Martinez for Senate)

- until March 2004. Ashley O'Connor, the president of Red October, has at times been an
- 2 employee of Stevens-Schriefer and was listed as a partner on the Stevens-Schriefer website in
- 3 2006. Except for another individual who was hired
- 4 to perform administrative duties in June or July, O'Connor and Dubin were the only employees
- of Red October during 2004.
- Red October provided services as a subcontractor to both the Bush and Martinez
- 7 Committees in 2004. Concerning the Bush campaign, Red October was a subcontractor for both
- 8 Maverick and Stevens-Schriefer.

Maverick contracted with Red October to have O'Connor provide "creative services" exclusively to the Bush campaign as its "director of production." Red October Response at 3 and Attachment 1, Memorandum of Understanding Between Ashley O'Connor and Doug Dubin ("MOU");

The stated purpose of the MOU was to segregate O'Connor and her work on the Bush campaign through Maverick from the other employees and clients of Red October. The MOU specified that while O'Connor was working for Maverick, Dubin was to oversee "all production and post production for all of Red October's clients ['except for Maverick Media']," O'Connor was prohibited from "providing services for any clients other than Maverick Media and Bush-Cheney '04," and Dubin could not provide "any creative services for Maverick Media or Bush-Cheney '04." Although technically still an employee of Red October,

- by all appearances O'Connor sequestered herself from Red October on a practical level
- 20 concerning substantive services provided to clients other than Maverick and the Bush
- 21 Committee. While working for Maverick, O'Connor provided limited administrative services to

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that O'Connor or Dubin violated the terms of the MOU.

Red October, through Dubin, also provided administrative services to the Bush

Committee as a subcontractor to Stevens-Schriefer.

These particular administrative services provided through

- Stevens-Schriefer consisted of billing and processing bills for work done by Stevens-Schriefer,
- receiving deliveries, setting up time for edit rooms, and monitoring schedules. 7

Dubin testified that in performing these services, he "wasn't privy to" any 8

material information concerning the Bush Committee's strategy, plans or activities. 9

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For the Martinez Committee, Red October provided production services such as producing film shoots, editing, and budgeting and billing of all production and post-production . Dubin testified that he work.

was not involved in campaign strategy or the "creative process" of the advertising. 14.

(testifying he was not brought "into the loop" on strategy). "I wasn't 15

involved in coming up with any of the strategies for the [Martinez] communications," according 16

to Dubin, and he was never asked to nor contributed any ideas, suggestions or comments 17

concerning Martinez campaign strategy. Stevens testified that Dubin was involved 18

While not in and of itself determinative, the MOU between O'Connor and Dubin reflects Red October's effort to keep work on the campaigns separated by having different people do the substantive work on the public communications for each campaign and prohibiting the sharing of strategic or creative information. See generally MUR 5506 (Emily's List) FGCR at 6-7 (allegations regarding efficacy of "firewall" rebutted by respondents, where use or conveyance of material information was prevented by internal procedures). In 2004, there were no presumptions in the Commission's regulations regarding the use of an "ethical screen." Coordinated and Independent Expenditures, 68 Fed. Reg. 421, 437 (Jan. 3, 2003). In the new coordination rules approved by the Commission on June 2, 2006, a "safe harbor provision" has been added for media vendors that establish firewalls meeting certain criteria and allows for contact and communications between those with overlapping leadership and administrative duties. Final Rule and E&J, 11 C.F.R. Part 109, Notice 2006-10 Coordinated Communications, at 61-6.

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in the creative process only on a "nuts and bolts" technical level regarding Martinez

2 advertisements, for example arranging background items for a shot, and that Dubin did not take

part in any strategy meetings. O'Connor states she did not provide any

4 services to the Martinez Committee.

Our investigation did not produce any evidence that Red October used or conveyed any information from the Bush campaign material to the creation, production or distribution of Martinez advertisements. While O'Connor apparently had access to the plans, projects, needs and activities of the Bush Committee, there is no evidence to suggest she worked on, or communicated any material information about the Bush campaign to anyone involved in, the creation, production or distribution of any Martinez advertisements. Dubin did not have access to any material information about the Bush campaign.

Thus, although Stevens-Schriefer and Red October, were common commercial vendors to the Martinez and Bush campaigns, we developed no evidence during our investigation that either used or conveyed to the Martinez Committee "[i]nformation about [President Bush's] campaign plans, projects, activities or needs . . . that . . . [wa]s material to the creation, production, or distribution of the [coordinated] communication." 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d)(4)(iii)(A). "[V]endors . . . are not in any way prohibited from providing services to both candidates . . . . This regulation focuses on the sharing of information about plans, projects, activities or needs of a candidate . . . through a common vendor to the spender who pays for a communication" and coordination is not presumed "from the mere presence of a common vendor." Coordinated and Independent Expenditures, 68 Fed. Reg. 421, 436-37 (Jan. 3, 2003) (emphasis added).

Therefore, there is no evidence that the Martinez Committee made an excessive in-kind contribution to the Bush Committee through a common media vendor.

Accordingly, this Office recommends that the Commission take no further action with 1 respect to Martinez for Senate and Charles W. Puckett, in his official capacity as treasurer, and 2 Bush-Cheney '04, Inc., and David Herndon, in his official capacity as treasurer, and close the file. 3 IV. **RECOMMENDATIONS** 4 1. Take no further action with respect to Martinez for Senate and Charles W. 5 Puckett, in his official capacity as treasurer. Take no action with respect to Bush-Cheney '04, Inc., and David 2. Herndon, in his official capacity as treasurer. 3. Close the file. Approve the appropriate letters. 4. 10 11 12 13 Lawrence H. Norton 14 General Counsel 15 16 17 18 awrence L. Calvert Jr. 19 Deputy Associate General Counsel 20 for Enforcement 21 22 23 24 25 **Assistant General Counsel** 26 27 28 29 J. Cameron Thurber 30 Attorney 31 32

#### Attachments:

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- 1. Transcripts of Stevens-Schriefer's advertisements for the Martinez Committee<sup>7</sup>
- 2. Transcripts of Stevens-Schriefer's advertisements for the Bush Committee
- 3. Transcripts of advertising by other 2004 Republican candidates

A copy of the Martinez biographical video is available in CELA on DVD.

From: Andi Webster [andi@redoctoberproductions.com]

Sent: Wednesday, July 14, 2004 4:39 PM

To: Scott Barnhart Script as of 5:30 7/1

Subject: Script as of 5:30 7/14

Here is a cut down version of the script for your review... Should work better as a :30

STRONG CONSERVATIVE

TV:30

MARTINEZ FOR SEANTE

#### BUSH

I'm honored to be with a great American - Mel Martinez who makes a big difference in our cabinet.

(GRAPHIC: headline "Bush picks Martinez")

#### ANNC:

Mel escaped communism as a young boy, alone -- and fell in love with America and freedom.

Chosen by President Bush for his cabinet, Mel Martinez is a natural leader, conservative, pro-life, fierce defender of American values.

#### BUSH:

"The American Dream is alive and well and Mel Martinez represents it all."

(GRAPHIC: Mel Martinez for U.S. Senate)

### MARTINEZ:

I'm Mel Martinez and I approve this message.

---- End of Forwarded Message

**MFS 0119** 

JUDGMENT TV :30 MARTINEZ FOR SENATE

vo:

In the Republican primary for Senate, whose judgment do you trust?

#### BUSH

"I'm honored to be with a great American, Mel Martinez who makes a big difference in our cabinet."

#### MM:

you know when we got to Washington he told us to make a difference - // we understood each other easily I was very much in tune to his conservatism // less burden on the taxpayers.

#### VO:

Mel Martinez -- a natural leader, who escaped Communism, to on day stand by the President's side. [if time-- Pro-life, supports conservative judges and permanent tax cuts.]

#### BUSH

"The American Dream is alive and well and Mel Martinez represents it all."

#### MARTINEZ

"I'm Mel Martinez and I approve this message."

### **ENDORSEMENT**

TV:30

## **MEL**

I'm Mel Martinez and I approve this message.

### **FEMALE ANNC**

Why are the other candidates attacking Mel Martinez?

## MALE ANNC

Only Mel Martinez can help President Bush win. Mel Martinez is the true pro-life conservative.

## **FEMALE ANNC**

Bill McCollum admits opposing the President on key issues, like stem cell research, and while traditional marriage is attacked, McCollum co-sponsored legislation granting homosexuals special rights.

McCollum lost his way, then lost our Republican Senate seat. Not again.

### MALE ANNC

Mel Martinez. Conservative, pro-life Republican winner.

## TRUE CONSERVATIVE

TV:30

## **ANNC**

Will Republicans win the Senate seat? Mel Martinez will.

Mel is the true conservative. Pro-life, a proven tax-cutter, a natural leader who escaped communism.

Mel Martinez stood by the President's side in the trying days after 9/11.

He'll fiercely defend America in the war on terror.

A principled conservative, passionate defender of our values, ready to lead..

### BUSH

The American dream is alive and well, and Mel Martinez represents it all.

#### MEL.

I'm Mel Martinez and I approve this message.

## **CHAMBER**

TV:30

### **ANNC**

In the republican primary for Senate, whose judgment do you trust?

#### HZIIA

I'm honored to be with a great American -Mel Martinez, who makes a big difference in our cabinet.

## **ANNC**

Mel Martinez, a natural leader who escaped communism to one day stand by the President's side.

### **MEL**

When we got to Washington, he told us to make a difference.

I was very attuned to his conservatism. Less burden on the taxpayers.

## **BUSH**

The American dream is alive and well, and Mel Martinez represents it all.

## **MEL**

I'm Mel Martinez and I approve this message.

## AMERICAN DREAM

TV:30

## MALE ANNC

The greatest generation thinks America is a force for good.

### **FEMALE ANNC**

But Betty Castor calls America the bully of the world.

The same Betty Castor who allowed a terrorist cell to poison her university.

After 9/11, how can we trust her judgment?

Mel Martinez, a boy who escaped communism to serve in the President's cabinet.

## **BUSH**

The American dream is alive and well, and Mel Martinez represents it all.

## **MEL**

I'm Mel Martinez and I approve this message.

"Our Values" Radio Spot

Hi. I'm Mel Martinez. I came to this country to escape a totalitarian dictator who had no respect for the traditional values of family and faith.

One of the reasons President Bush asked me to serve in his cabinet is that we both share the same traditional values.

My wife Katie and I have been married for 34 years and have been blessed with three children and, now, two wonderful grandchildren.

Unfortunately, today the very institution of marriage is under attack. But President Bush is fighting back with the Marriage Protection Amendment.

When I was in his cabinet, President Bush knew he could count on my support in his fight for our values. Now, I'm ready for the Republican nomination for Senate to continue that fight.

In the next few days, the Senate will be voting on the Marriage Protection Amendment. If you believe like I do, that marriage should be between one man and one woman, please join me in calling on Florida's U.S. Senators to support this historic legislation.

I'm Mel Martinez and I approve this message because I know the sanctity of marriage is worth defending.

Paid for by Martinez for Senate.

ATTACHMENT 1
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"LIFE"

:60 (Read needs to be :53 or :54 to allow for disclaimers)

This is Ken Connor, former President of Florida Right to Life and the Family Research Council. Because life is a precious gift from God we must help protect it by electing strong pro-life candidates.

That's why I support Mel Martinez for U.S. Senate. Mel Martinez in endorsed by Florida and National Right to Life. He and Kitty, his wife of 34 years, are passionate in their faith, and in defense of life.

Kitty founded "Mom's for Life" in Orlando – and while Mel served in President Bush's Cabinet – she campaigned for pro-life candidates across America.

Mel stands WITH President Bush AGAINST expanding human embryo stem cell research.

(Pause) Sadly, Bill McCollum and Doug Gallagher side with John Kerry on this defining issue.

On August 31<sup>st</sup>, make a stand for Life, by voting for Mel Martinez for U.S. Senate.

ATTACHMENT Page of 9

MARTINEZ RADIO :60 "CONSERVATIVE LEADER RADIO"

## **MEL**

"I am Mel Martinez and I approve this message"

## VO:

President Bush talks about Mel Martinez...

### **BUSH**

"Let me tell you about Mel, he's from Florida. A long time ago his parents made a difficult decision they sent him to the Untied States from Cuba, they sent him in what they call Operation Pedro Pan - from an island controlled by a dictator, to the land of the free."

### VO:

AND FOR FORTY YEARS Mel Martinez HAS ALWAYS GIVEN BACK, IN GRATITUDE FOR FREEDOM -- FROM LEADING HIS COMMUNITY -- TO SERVING IN PRESIDNET BUSH'S CABINET -- TO COACHING LITTLE LEAGUE.

A champion of the President's economic growth plan, a leader of the President's faith based initiatives. Conservative, pro-life, Mel will make the President's tax cuts permanent and help us win the war on terror.

President Bush relied on Mel Martinez, and we can too.

## **BUSH**

"The American Dream is alive and well and Mel Martinez represents it all."

PAID FOR BY MARTINEZ FOR SENATE AND AUTHORIZED BY MEL MARTINEZ

ATTACHMENT Page of 9

## Free and Peaceful

GWB – I know exactly where I want to lead this country. I know what we need to do to make the world more free and more peaceful. I'll never forget the time an Iraqi woman walked in the Oval Office and burst out crying, overjoyed over the fact she was liberated—this is a woman that came from a culture where she was repressed and held back – tortured if she spoke her mind. I spell out a vision for a world that is more free and therefore more peaceful and a vision that says, in America we can rise to any challenge.

LB – Consider the women and girls of Afghanistan who, under the Taliban couldn't even leave their homes or go to school and because of America's actions, now little girls are in school learning to read and write and they're also learning that their lives have value and worth. I've watched my husband make the world safer. I've also seen him make the world better.

GWB – We honor human dignity and human rights. The values of this country - if we stick to them, we'll make the world a better place.

ATTACHMENT Of 6

Bush Cheney '04 Ad

"Waeky"

Bush: Tan-George W. Bush and I approved this ad.

ATTACHMENT

Announcer: Some people have wacky ideas. Like taxing gasoline more so people drive less. That's John Kerry He supported a 50 cent a gallon gas tax. If Kerry's tax increase were law, the average family wouldpay \$657 more a year.

Raising taxes is a habit of Kerry's He supported higher gasoline taxes 11 times. Maybe John Kerry just doesn't understand what his ideas mean to the vest of us.

## Script of Bush's "New York City Mayors" (Radio)

RUDY GIULIANI: I'm Rudy Giuliani.

ED KOCH: I'm Ed Koch.

RUDY GIULIANI: I'm a former Mayor of New York City and a Republican.

ED KOCH: I'm a former Mayor of New York City and a Democrat.

RUDY GIULIANI: We don't always agree.

ED KOCH: In fact, we often disagree.

RUDY GIULIANI: But we're both supporting George Bush for president.

ED KOCH: That's right, even me, Ed Koch, a life-long Democrat. I've been impressed with President Bush and his response to the Sept. 11 attacks, and I know he has what it takes to win the war on terror.

RUDY GIULIANI: President Bush is a leader who is willing to stick with difficult decisions even as public opinion shifts. And John Kerry — his record suggests a man who changes his position often even on matters as important as war and peace.

ED KOCH: President Bush will go after the terrorists and the countries that harbor them. That's why for the first time in my life, I'm voting for a Republican for president. I'm voting for George W. Bush, and I hope you will too.

ANNOUNCER: Paid for by Bush-Cheney '04, Inc.

ATTACHMENT 2
Page of 6

PRESIDENT BUSH: I'm President Bush, and I approve this message.

Script of Bush's "Windsurfing" (TV)

PRESIDENT BUSH [v/o]: I'm George W. Bush, and I approve this message.

(On screen: www.GeorgeWBush.com)

ANNOUNCER: In which direction would John Kerry lead? Kerry voted for the Iraq war, opposed it, supported it and now opposes it again. He bragged about voting for the \$87 billion to support our troops before he voted against it. He voted for education reform and now opposes it. He claims he's against increasing Medicare premiums, but voted five times to do so.

John Kerry. Whichever way the wind blows.

(On screen: Approved By President Bush And Paid For By Bush-Cheney '04 Inc.)

Script of "Man from Massachusetts" (Radio)

ANNOUNCER: Paid for by Bush-Cheney '04 Inc.

PRESIDENT BUSH: I'm George W. Bush, and I approve this message.

JAY MOCCIA: My name is Jay Moccia. I'm a law enforcement officer in the greater Boston area. And for the record, I think you guys have a funny accent, too.

ATTACE	MENT	T 2		
Page	5	of	6	_

John Kerry has been my senator for twenty years. Now he's running for president. You might want to know him the way some of us in Massachusetts do.

Take his record on taxes. John Kerry likes to raise taxes. So much so he's voted for higher taxes three hundred and fifty times. I'm a working guy with six kids — the last thing I need is another Kerry tax increase.

Senator Kerry also voted to increase taxes on seniors' Social Security benefits. No, it's not fair at all — these people have worked their whole lives, and to put a tax on them is just wrong.

And sad to say, John Kerry even voted against giving small businesses tax breaks so they could provide health care for their employees.

It looks like Kerry's gonna raise taxes about nine hundred billion dollars within his first hundred days in office. I'd say look it, trust me, John Kerry likes to raise taxes. It's what he's done before, and you know he'll do it again.

That's just... just wrong.

ATTACHMENT Of 6

## Script of DeMint's "President Bush" (TV)

(On screen: U.S. Senate; DeMint; Secure The Future)

JIM DEMINT: I'm Jim DeMint, and I approve this message.

**ANNOUNCER** [v/o]: In the war on terror, President Bush relies on Jim DeMint.

PRESIDENT BUSH [at March 27, 2002 event]: He is an ally of mine. Jim DeMint understands the need for us to be tough and diligent and forceful when it comes to fighting terrorists. He's a man of integrity. He cares deeply about the people of this state. This man is a leader, and he needs to go back to Washington, D.C.

(On screen: Authorized by Jim DeMint & Paid For By DeMint For Senate)

## Script of "Evil" (Radio)

**BILL COBEY**: I'm Bill Cobey, candidate for governor, and this ad was paid for by Cobey for governor.

**ANNOUNCER:** This is the Carolina Conservative Broadcasting Network. And now, former Congressman Bill Cobey.

BILL COBEY: I'm Bill Cobey. Today's topic: confronting evil in Iraq. We've all seen the news. Angry mobs mutilated and killed four civilians who worked for a North Carolina company. It's terrible when any American dies in the war on terror, but this act was uniquely repulsive.

Let's be honest about it. The people who did this, the same people who fly planes into buildings, are, in fact, evil. There's no point in sugar-coating it. They don't need to be apprehended and indicted; they need to be killed. We can't afford to lose this war, and thank goodness President Bush knows it.

North Carolina supports our president and our troops in every way. I'm Bill Cobey, and that's exactly what I'll do as your next governor.

Title: "Evil"

**Group:** Bill Cobey for Governor

Producer: Todd & Castellanos Creative ANNOUNCER: Log on to

billcobey.org. Cobey means conservative.

## Script of "Intro" (Radio)

**ROSARIO MARIN**: This is Rosario Marin, Republican candidate for the U.S. Senate, and I approved this message.

ANNOUNCER: Only one Republican can beat Barbara Boxer -- Rosario Marin.

Like Arnold Schwarzenegger, she's an incredible success story. From an immigrant family who arrived here with nothing, to the day President George W. Bush personally chose her as treasurer of the United States.

Rosario Marin will fight for lower taxes and to secure our borders. She opposes amnesty for illegal aliens.

A conservative who's tough on terrorism, Rosario is a Republican whose fresh face and proven appeal to Democrats and independents make her Barbara Boxer's worst nightmare.

Rosario Marin for U.S. Senate at JoinRosario.com. Former Treasurer Rosario Marin. She's right on your money, including the new twenty-dollar bill.

Rosario Marin, good for you and definitely bad for Boxer.

ROSARIO MARIN: Paid for by Rosario Marin for U.S. Senate.

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## Script of "Marriage" (Radio)

**ANNOUNCER**: The following is paid for by Cobey for Governor.

This is the Carolina Conservative Broadcasting Network. And now, former Congressman Bill Cobey.

BILL COBEY: I'm Bill Cobey. Today's topic: the sanctity of marriage. I was proud of President Bush's recent State of the Union speech. He said we must defend the sanctity of marriage, the union of a man and a woman.

Radical liberals call this discrimination. That's hogwash. Holy matrimony between a man and a woman is the way God set it up. It's just basic common sense, not discrimination. The president made no apologies for defending marriage, and neither will I. Successful families are crucial to the health of our nation and our culture. Government must encourage strong families.

I'm Bill Cobey, and that's exactly what I'll do as your next governor.

**ANNOUNCER**: Become a Cobey conservative today. Log on to billcobey.org. Cobey means conservative.

## Script of "Bush" (TV)

ANNOUNCER [v/o]: Republican candidate for governor Jon Huntsman.

(On screen: Huntsman; a new day for Utah)

JON HUNTSMAN [to camera]: When I think of all the rewarding work I've done in my life, being a part of the creation and success of Huntsman Corporation, first president and CEO of the Huntsman Cancer Foundation, working in the administrations of three U.S. presidents, opening markets abroad for the United States...

(On screen: U.S. Trade Ambassador)

... nothing even comes close in importance to looking into the eyes of my kids and wanting to do something about securing and protecting the future of Utah's children.

FORMER PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH [to camera]: Jon Huntsman is a true leader who brings new ideas, an amazing work ethic and an ability to accomplish great things.

(On screen: President George Bush)

I saw those qualities first-hand when he served the Reagan-Bush administration, when he served my administration, when he served our current president's administration. Jon Huntsman is a man of integrity. He's a man of vision. He's a man of Utah. I strongly urge you to elect Jon Huntsman governor of Utah.

(On screen: Paid For By Huntsman For Governor)

## Script of Carson's "Greater" (TV)

BRAD CARSON: Hi. I'm Brad Carson, and I approve this message.

(On screen: U.S. Senate; www.bradcarson.com)

ANNOUNCER [v/o]: Tom Coburn sure has said some crazy things.

(On screen: Good vs. Evil; Crapheads; Malarkey)

And his negative attacks have been called 'dishonest' and 'a flat lie.'
Brad Carson opposes amnesty for illegal immigrants... And he's
voted every time to support President Bush's war on terror.

(On screen: Tulsa World; 9/26/04; Daily Progress; 9/23/04)

Tom Coburn? He supports amnesty for illegal immigrants and wants to let more in. And he's repeatedly said, we have far more to fear from our own government than terrorism. Now that's really crazy.

(On screen: The Norman Transcript; 5/5/04; Associated Press; 3/17/96; Source: Tom Coburn: Breach of Trust; Pages Approved By Brad Carson; Paid For By Carson For Senate Committee)

## Script of Coburn's "How Liberal" (TV)

ANNOUNCER [v/o]: How liberal is Brad Carson? He's voted against President Bush's positions more often than John Kerry. Carson is backed by a liberal extremist group who opposes the War on Terrorism. And Carson says we should give amnesty to illegal immigrants. That's dangerously liberal.

(On screen: Source: The Daily Oklahoman; 7/23/2001)

**DICK CHENEY** [Remarks from Sept. 25]: It is absolutely essential that Tom Coburn be the next United States Senator from Oklahoma.

**ANNOUNCER** [v/o]: Tom Coburn -- Oklahoma and President Bush need him.

**TOM COBURN:** I'm Tom Coburn, and I approve this message.

(On screen: U.S. Senate; Coburn; Paid For By Coburn For U.S. Senate Committee)

## Script of Murkowski's "First Lady" (TV)

LISA MURKOWSKI [in speech]: The first lady of the United States, Mrs. Laura Bush.

LAURA BUSH [in speech]: All of you know Lisa. You know her as a hard-working public servant, a devoted mother and an experienced leader. President Bush needs leaders like Sen. Murkowski to strengthen our national security and our economic security. Every vote for Sen. Murkowski is a vote for a better and stronger America.

LISA MURKOWSKI [v/o]: I'm Lisa Murkowski, and I approve this message.

## Script of Isakson's "Bold Leadership" (TV)

(On screen: Johnny Isakson; U.S. Senate)

MALE ANNOUNCER [v/o]: Newspapers across Georgia endorse Johnny Isakson, saying he's a strong backer of President Bush and the war on terror.

(On screen: Isakson's "A Strong Backer of President Bush and the War on Terror" -- Marietta Daily Journal, 7/5/04)

**FEMALE ANNOUNCER** [v/o]: When Zell Miller needed bold leadership for Georgia's schools, he called on Johnny.

MALE ANNOUNCER [v/o]: President Bush turned to Johnny, asking him to help move forward his agenda.

**FEMALE ANNOUNCER** [v/o]: A leader in cutting taxes, ending partial birth abortion, and defending America in the war on terror.

MALE ANNOUNCER [v/o]: Johnny Isakson has the values we cherish and the experience we need.

JOHNNY ISAKSON [v/o]: I'm Johnny Isakson, and I approve this message.

(On screen: Johnny Isakson; U.S. Senate; Paid For By Georgians For Isakson)